

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 146823 TOSEC 070030
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY AF:RMMOOSE
APPROVED BY AF:RMMOOSE
S/S - MR. WISNER

-----065999 232306Z /61
O 232231Z JUN 77 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 146823 TOSEC 070030

NODIS
-CHEROKEE FOR THE SECRETARY FROM MOOSE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: SF, RH, WA, PGOV

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA

1. THE FOLLOWING IS A DRAFT SUMMARY OF THE NOTES WHICH
I TOOK ON YOUR DEBRIEF FOLLOWING THE BOTHA CONVERSATION.

QUOTE. I MET THE SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER ROELOF F.
BOTHA ON TUESDAY AFTERNOON, JUNE 21. AT BOTHA'S REQUEST
WE MET ALONE.FOR ONE AND ONE-HALF HOURS.

DESPITE THE LENGTH OF THE MEETING AND BOTHA'S STATED DESIRE
FOR PRIVACY, THE MEETING PRODUCED NOTHING NEW AND
RELATIVELY LITTLE OF INTEREST. ON BOTH NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA
BOTHA ADHERED TO KNOWN POSITIONS. IN BOTH INSTANCES HE
STRESSED THE NEED FOR RAPID SETTLEMENTS. PERHAPS THE MOST
INTERESTING OF BOTHA'SPOINTS WAS HIS FLAT ASSERTION THAT
THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT TELL RHODESIA TO
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STOP CROSS BORDER RAIDS WHEN RHODESIA BELIEVED THEM
NECESSARY FOR ITS OWN PROTECTION. ONE NOVEL FEATURE OF
BOTHA'S PRESENTATION WAS AN APOCALYPTIC APPRAISAL OF
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AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS WHICH PARALLELS WHAT HE SEES
OCCURRING IN THE POLITICAL REALM.
THE FOLLOWING ARE MORE SPECIFIC POINTS ON EACH SUBJECT
AREA.

NAMIBIA. MR. BOTHA EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR SPEED IN WORKING OUT AN AGREEMENT ON NAMIBIA. I CAUTIONED THAT EXCESSIVE SPEED COULD RENDER THE ELECTIONS MEANINGLESS. THE FOREIGN MINISTER THOUGHT THAT SIX MONTHS WOULD BE SUFFICIENT TIME TO PREPARE FOR AN ELECTION. OUR EXCHANGE ON THIS POINT ENDED INCONCLUSIVELY.

I TOLD BOTHA THAT WE FOUND THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S (SAG) AGREEMENT TO APPOINT A CIVILIAN ADMINISTRATOR TO BE A CONSTRUCTIVE MOVE. I EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF SOMEONE WITH A REPUTATION FOR IMPARTIALITY. BOTHA SAID THEY BELIEVED THAT A JUDGE WOULD BE THE TYPE OF PERSON BEST SUITED FOR THIS ROLE AND THAT THEY PREVIOUSLY HAD A PARTICULAR INDIVIDUAL IN MIND. UNFORTUNATELY, BOTHA SAID, HIS GOVERNMENT HAD DECIDED UPON REFLECTION THAT THE PERSON IN QUESTION MIGHT BE TAINTED IN THE EYES OF SOME BY VIRTUE OF HIS HAVING REPRESENTED THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AT THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE PROCEEDINGS CONCERNING SOUTHWEST AFRICA.

ON THE SUBJECT OF A UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR NAMIBIA, I SOUGHT BOTHA'S OPINION OF MR. ATHASSARI, NOW THE UN COMMISSIONER FOR NAMIBIA. BOTHA REPLIED THAT
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HIS GOVERNMENT HAD SOME RESERVATIONS ABOUT ATHASSARI BUT THEY ARE NOT RULING HIM OUT. BOTHA CITED AS TROUBLE-SOME ATHASSARI'S CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE NAMIBIA COMMISSION. I URGED BOTHA TO DISCUSS THIS QUESTION WITH SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM.

I NEXT RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES FROM NAMIBIA. BOTHA SAID THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE WILLING TO WITHDRAW THEIR FORCES IN ACCORDANCE WITH A TIMETABLE TO BE SET BY THE NEW GOVERNMENT TO BE ELECTED. IF THAT GOVERNMENT WISHED SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES TO WITHDRAW IMMEDIATELY (I.E., IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE SECOND ELECTION), THIS WOULD BE DONE. IN REPLY TO MY INQUIRY ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF PROGRESSIVE WITHDRAWALS PRIOR THAT TIME, BOTHA REPLIED THAT THE FIRST STEP WOULD BE THE APPOINTMENT OF AN ADMINISTRATOR. WHEN I POINTED OUT THAT THIS WAS NOT MEANINGFUL IN TERMS OF A MILITARY WITHDRAWAL, BOTHA AGREED THAT THE MATTER SHOULD BE DISCUSSED FURTHER. HE SEEMED TO BE WILLING TO GO NO FURTHER THAN SAYING THAT THE TROOPS WOULD BE WITHDRAWN AFTER THE NEW GOVERNMENT WAS IN PLACE.

SEVERAL ITEMS OF A TRANSITIONAL NATURE WERE RAISED BY BOTHA SUCH AS HOW THE SOUTH AFRICANS WOULD ULTIMATELY BE INDEMNIFIED BY THE FUTURE NAMIBIAN GOVERNMENT FOR RAILROADS AND OTHER PERMANENT INSTALLATIONS. THE FUTURE OF WALVIS BAY WAS DISCUSSED BUT IN AN INCONCLUSIVE MANNER.

OVERALL, BOTHA'S POSITION ON NAMIBIA WAS THAT IF THE SOUTH AFRICANS COULD GET A MODERATE GOVERNMENT IN NAMIBIA, THEY WOULD GLADLY LEAVE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

RHODESIA. I INQUIRED OF BOTHA WHAT PRIME MINISTER IAN SMITH HAD TOLD HIM IN THEIR RECENT MEETING. BOTHA REPLIED THAT AFTER HAVING TALKED WITH SMITH AND HIS CABINET FOR TWO HOURS, HE IS CONVINCED THAT SMITH HAS MADE HIS
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DECISION. ACCORDING TO BOTHA SMITH IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT BLACK MAJORITY RULE WITHIN THE AGREED TIME FRAME. WHILE SOME MINISTERS MAY FEEL OTHERWISE, SMITH IS PREPARED TO FOLLOW THROUGH.

AS ON NAMIBIA, BOTHA FELT THAT A SPEEDY RESOLUTION OF THE RHODESIAN SITUATION IS ESSENTIAL. HE BELIEVES THAT EXISTING DIVISIONS AMONG THE RHODESIAN NATIONALIST PARTIES WOULD BE FURTHER EXACERBATED BY THE PASSAGE OF TIME. IN THIS CONNECTION BOTHA NOTED THAT MUGABE HAS ALREADY BEEN REPLACED BY TONGAGARA AS THE MOST SIGNIFICANT FIGURE AMONG THE BLACK RHODESIAN MILITARY LEADERS. HE ADDED THAT IN HIS VIEW THE SERIOUSNESS OF TRIBAL DIVISIONS AMONG THE NATIONALISTS IS NOT FULLY APPRECIATED BY THE UNITED STATES AND TRIBALISM IS SURE TO COMPLICATE ANY EVENTUAL SETTLEMENT.

BOTHA SUGGESTED THAT THE U.S. SHOULD SEND SOMEONE TO TALK TO SMITH. HE BELIEVES THAT THE UNIVERSAL FRANCHISE IS NOT AN INSURMOUNTABLE OBSTACLE AND THAT SMITH, DESPITE HIS. PUBLIC POSITION, IS PREPARED TO GIVE IN ON THIS ISSUE.

I TOLD BOTHA THAT THE CROSS BORDER RAIDS FROM RHODESIA MUST STOP AND POINTED TO SOUTH AFRICA'S POTENTIAL ROLE IN THIS CONNECTION. BOTHA RESPONDED THAT ALTHOUGH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAD TOLD SMITH TO END THE LAST LARGE RAID AND WILL CONTINUE TO COUNSEL RESTRAINT, HIS GOVERNMENT IS NOT PREPARED TO TELL RHODESIA THAT IT CANNOT UNDERTAKE CROSS BORDER OPERATIONS WHEN RHODESIA BELIEVES THESE TO BE NECESSARY FOR ITS OWN PROTECTION.

BOTHA SAID THAT IT WAS APPARENT FROM THE MOST RECENT RHODESIAN ATTACK ON MOZAMBIQUE THAT THE RHODESIANS COULD HAVE GONE ALL THE WAY TO MAPUTO HAD THEY CHOSEN TO DO SO.
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THERE IS NO GUARANTEE, BOTHA SAID, THAT THEY WILL NOT MOVE AGAIN, OR THAT THEY MAY CHOOSE TO CARRY THEIR ATTACK AS FAR

AS MAPUTO. BOTHA ARGUED THAT FOR THIS REASON IT IS

IMPORTANT TO GET A SETTLEMENT QUICKLY.

SOUTH AFRICA. THE MAJORITY OF OUR MEETING WAS DEVOTED TO A DISCUSSION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERNAL POLICIES. BOTHA MADE AN IMPASSIONED SPEECH CHARGING THAT AMERICAN ENDORSEMENT OF "ONE MAN ONE VOTE" WAS A "KNIFE IN THE BACK" OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. I STRESSED THAT THE U.S. CANNOT ACCEPT A CONTINUATION OF DISCRIMINATION BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT OR FAILURE ON THE PART OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO DEAL IN TIME WITH FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION. NEEDLESS TO SAY DISCUSSION OF THIS SUBJECT WAS WHOLLY WITHOUT AGREEMENT OF ANY KIND.

(AT ONE POINT IN OUR CONVERSATION MR. BOTHA HANDED ME A LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER VORSTER TO YOU CONCERNING NAMIBIA (?). IN READING IT I NOTICED ON THE SECOND PAGE OF THE LETTER AN UNDERTAKING ON VORSTER'S PART TO KEEP "THE UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE CLOSELY INFORMED." WHEN I QUESTIONED THE TERMINOLOGY, EXPRESSING DOUBT THAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAD MEANT TO SAY THE "UNITED STATES," MR. BOTHA ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IT SHOULD HAVE READ "UNITED NATIONS." HE THEN TOOK THE LETTER BACK TO BE CORRECTED. IT HAS NOT REAPPEARED.)

UNQUOTE. CHRISTOPHER

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PAGE 01 STATE 146823
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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66011
DRAFTED BY AF: GDIES
APPROVED BY AF: TWSEELYE
S/S:PTARNOFF

-----102931 272128Z /61
O 272035Z JUN 77 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 146823

NODIS
CHEROKEE

FOL RPT STATE 146823 ACTION USDEW SECRETARY DATED 23 JUN 77

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UNQUOTE. CHRISTOPHER UNQUOTE VANCE

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 22-Sep-1999 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, BRIEFING MATERIALS, FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETINGS, POLITICAL SITUATION, CAT-C, CHEROKEE 06/23/77
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 23-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Executive Order: 11652 XGDS-3
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: P840072-1151, N770004-0014
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From: STATE
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Line Count: 395
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Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
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Message ID: 311f9e73-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
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SAS ID: 2013171
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Status: NATIVE
Subject: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA
TAGS: PGOV, PDEV, SF, RH, WA, (VANCE, CYRUS R), (BOTHA, ROELOF F)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/311f9e73-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
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Margaret P. Grafeld
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